7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

that is camels two to three years old, and the same word is also used in kinship terminology for brothers and sisters-in-law.

The Tuareg make social payments and many indemnities in camels. If, as may happen, a woman permits her husband to take a second wife, she will claim at least one camel from him. Again, if a woman feels herself badly treated by her husband she will go to her parents' camp and not return to her husband until she has been presented with a camel. Parents will sometimes induce their children to marry against their own feelings by means of a gift of camels. In Ahaggar the indemnity for adultery is fixed at three camels paid by the seducer, while one camel is given by an unfaithful wife. However, these camels are not given to the deceived spouse, but to the supreme chief of Ahaggar, the *Amenukal*. For the knocking out of a tooth two camels must be given, but if the injured person is a woman the payment is five camels. For the destruction of an eye the indemnity is fixed at 25 camels. The same payment is made for the cutting off of a hand or a foot, the cutting of a finger or a toe being fixed at a price of five camels. In agreement with this system blood-wealth in Ahaggar was fixed at one hundred camels in the past. There were quite definite rules governing the age and appearance of the camels to be paid for a slain man. They should all be she-camels of different age, and of ten distinct colours as follows:—

	Age			*Colour*	
10	*-tilgad*, or *chét awétay*	(one year old)	10	*tibeydegin*	(white)
10	*tilusin*	(2 years old)	10	*titlaɣin*	(mahogany)
10	*tekkenifadden*	(3 years old)	10	*tizeggeɣin*	(reddish)
10	*tiruyar*	(4 years old)	10	*tibhawin*	(reddish brown)
10	*chét essin*	(5 years old)	10	*tilemlaɣin*	(grey)
10	*chét okkaz*	(6 years old)	10	*tizerifin*	(metallic grey)
10	*timessedas*	(7 years old)	10	*timengelin*	(dark grey)
10	*chét tahalt*	(8 years old)	10	*tikewelin*	(black)
20	*tiregganin*	(more than eight years old; she-camels considered neither young nor old)	10	*tizerɣafin*	(piebald)
			10	*tiwinaɣin*	(white cornea)

The actual value of a camel is never judged from its colour, but colours have a certain æsthetic value, and wealthy Tuareg who keep several riding camels will always have animals of different colours. This is the case with the present *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, who is said to possess between ten and twenty camels trained for riding.

Camels play a great part in the life of the individual. Boys of the vassal class may be set to herd goats, but their games centre round camels, and they take no particular interest in other domestic animals. For their games very small boys have camel puppets which are jaw-bones of sheep and goats (Fig. 79a), or roughly-cut stones (Fig. 79b–d). These playthings are their "riding camels", "she-camels", and their "caravans". Boys learn to travel on camel-back at a very early age. When three or four years old they sit behind their father's riding saddle or on the top of a loaded pack-camel, and all boys can ride a trotting camel without a saddle before they are ten. Boys grow up with an intimate knowledge of camels and camel-breeding, and with very little interest in any other subject.

[Text continues on p. 104]

237 Ayr Tuareg a piece of ram's horn may serve as an amulet case attached around the upper arm. Horns
*[415] of barbary sheep are used for butter containers among the Northern Tuareg (cf. p. 223; Fig. 165), who sometimes use a piece of pointed gazelle horn for daubing antimony around the eye.

281 The Ahaggar women cut skin and leather with a small knife (*telmusit*), and a piece of wood (*asettenu*)
462 and/or a stone (*tazzet*) are used for smoothing the skin which is then placed upon a particular wooden
[413] board (*elkeyleb*) (cf. Figs. 219a–d). The Ayr Tuareg do not make so much refined skin work. Women
*[415] among the Northern Tuareg conserve their implements for skin and leather work in a particular bag (*askagen*) which is made from leather attached to a bottom piece of horn (*isek*) (Figs. 220a–g).

[53] Northern Tuareg women take a great interest in their skin and leather artifacts, which are richly decorated with fringes and hanging tassels, and with geometric designs in different colours. I have
386 noted the following colours among the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer:—
●822 (1) *haba*, indigo which is introduced from the south in the form of balls.

(2) *tawnkent*, which is also known as *tafidet* and *tanezezzeft* according to Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1934. It is a yellowish mineral which yields an entirely black colour frequently seen on ornamented skin bags. The mineral according to the Ahaggar Tuareg is introduced from the south, while the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer claim that they obtain their minerals of this type from Serdeles north-east of Rat. – A black colour which is also known as *tawnkent* is said to be made by the Tuareg of Ahaggar in the following way:— Pieces of iron are put into water contained in some small receptacle, usually a tea glass. This receptacle containing water and iron pieces is covered with a bowl or a similar object in order that the sun light cannot penetrate. After a few days the water turns into a black colour to be used for skin dyeing.

(3) *semenio*, a green colour derived from a mineral or a powder introduced from the south. According to some Tuareg this green colour is also made by means of a vegetable powder introduced from the north, from the region of Mzab.

(4) *khodarbas*, a powder which yields a green colour. It is said to be introduced from the south (from Tawa) and to derive from a tree known as *tafnit*.

[224] (5) *errumman*, the fruit of the pomegranate tree known as *terrummant* (*Punica Granatum*). It is used with a white mineral (alum), known as *azref n Tawat*, and introduced from In Salah. Parts of the pomegranate fruit and of this mineral are mixed with water to be used for a yellow or yellow-brown dye which is applied to many decorated skin bags for ground colour.

(6) *temesaruak*, a mineral introduced from the north (Mzab). It produces a yellow colour.

[243] (7) *herkl*, a reddish brown colour obtained from a particular type of sorghum known as *tullal* grown in the cultivation centres of Ahaggar.

(8) *tédevsé*, a white colour obtained by placing the skin for about three days in a container with fresh milk to which a little salt is added. – Among Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer I was told that a white colour is also obtained from a kind of powder introduced from the Sudan.

386 Before use these above mentioned colours or dyeing materials are generally dissolved in water
[63] contained in a tea glass. When they are employed for the very fine geometric designs of leather bags they are daubed with a small knife known as *telmusit* (Fig. 219b).

[439] It is interesting that most dyes used by the Northern Tuareg are introduced from the north or from the south,

[Text continues on p. 284]

Lhote describes the skin-stockings (*abuheg*) used among the Ahaggar Tuareg as having a very particular cut, so that the first toe is separated from the other toes in order that the stocking may be worn with sandals. The following description of Tuareg skin-stockings is additionally given:— "Cette chaussette monte un peu plus haut que les chaussures européennes à tiges et se lace de même au moyen d'un lacet de peau. Il y a une petite languette et la jonction empeignetige est renforcée par une rondelle de peau fixée par une couture. La semelle est une simple peau de filali qui serait vite usée si l'on marchait directement dessus. *L'abouheg* est fait en peau de mouton ou en peau de gazelle tannée, et souvent avec des chutes de mauvaise qualité. Les peaux sont ordinairement teintes en noire et la rondelle de renforcement en vert. Mais il y en a aussi qui sont faites en filali rouge de bonne qualité. Le prix de ces dernières est plus élevé et elles sont généralement faites sur commande. On trouve sur le marché d'Agadez, des *iboûhegen* qui sont l'oeuvre des artisans cordonniers de cette ville. Nous n'en avons jamais vu faire chez les Touareg du Nord, qui les font aujourd'hui confectionner par des artisans de Tamanrasset et s'en procurent également à Agadez. De même, nous n'en avons jamais vu porter chez les Ioullimiden de Ménéka ou chez les Tenguéréguifs. Les gens d'In Salah et de Djanet la connaissent ainsi que les Chaamba" (Lhote 1950d, p. 527 f.). According to Lhote, just quoted, *abouheg* (*abuheg*) is described by Foley not as stockings, but as boots, which form part of the ceremonial equipment of the Ahaggar Tuareg, while Foureau (1894, p. 203) says that wealthy Tuareg among the *Kel Ajjer* wear boots made of soft leather and manufactured at Radames, Rat, and in Ayr. These boots according to Foureau have a separate space for the first toe in order that they may be worn with sandals, and as claimed by Lhote, they are not true boots, but skin-stockings (cf. Lhote 1950d, p. 527 f.). Duveyrier also speaks of the use of soft leather boots known as *ibôhaljen* sometimes worn by chiefs (Duveyrier 1864, p. 407), and in the case of the *Iullemmeden Kel Dennek* Nicolas mentions the use of a type of boots ("la botte de cavalier") known as *abûzag* (pl. *ibuzâgen*) (Ar. *tmâg*) (Nicolas 1950a p. 174).

Foucauld speaks of *abuheg* as a type of soft leather boots, but he mentions that this same word is also used for knitted stocking. Such stocking are also known by the feminine form *tabuhek*, though the proper meaning of this latter word is "slipper". Slippers are worn by a few men and women in winter, and a woman frequently wears them during the period of isolation (4 months and ten days) after her husband's death. According to Foucauld the leather boots (*abuheg*) are never worn by women but only by a very few men (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 36). It is a great pity that the authors who refer to the use of soft leather boots or stockings have reproduced no illustration which clearly indicates their cut. But fortunately there is a pair of leather stockings in the collection of the Ethnographical Museum at Neuchâtel. There can be little doubt that this garment serves as a stocking and not as a boot, for it has a separate space for the first toe which would be meaningless if not worn with sandals. The leather stocking is made from three pieces of leather:— (1) A sole or rather a bottom piece which is bent slightly up over the foot, notably at the heel; (2) A piece of leather covering the instep and sewn to the forepart of the bottom piece; (3) A piece of leather forming the leg and sewn to the instep and bottom pieces. It is interesting that all three pieces are of the same type of leather and that the bottom piece resembles that of moccasins.

The sort of slipper termed *tabuhek* by Foucauld and worn by both sexes, is identical with leather slippers or shoes provided with a distinct sole. These shoes seem to be of Arab origin, and I have